

## HONORING MR. GOMPERS

**M**R. GOMPERS has been re-elected head of the American Federation of Labor, and this upon the motion of a representative of the Railroad Brotherhoods. Mr. Gompers will undoubtedly be chosen to lead the Federation, as long as he will take the office, and is able to hold it. He is the father of that great movement which has had so much to do with industrial progress in the United States, and he is better known and more beloved than any other man in the labor movement. That Mr. Gompers would be denied a re-election because he had sustained a defeat upon a single measure was quite out of reason.

The President of the United States is not necessarily deprived of his office because congress does not agree with him, nor is the head of any other organization.

Mr. Gompers remains the head of the Federation, although most of its members have adopted principles and policies far in advance of those which their leader held in the beginning, and often in advance of those which he now holds.

It was necessary for the very existence of the Federation, in its early days that it should not mix in partisan politics. This position Mr. Gompers occupied, until the organization became strong enough, and the movement politically conscious enough to permit action in the partisan arena.

The government ownership and democratic operation of railroads is a step beyond the economic development of Mr. Gompers, and here the rank and file of the labor movement have passed him, as he might have known they would, had he carefully read the influential craft journals and magazines during the ten years past.

The old labor movement concerned itself with wages, hours and conditions. The new labor movement is also concerned with prices, methods and politics. It understands the intimate connection between government and industry, and it has entered upon a broader career, in which Mr. Gompers has been left behind, though not in respect of his personal leadership. The American Federation elevates its leader once more to the official headship of the organization, but he takes his course from the organization and not it from him.

## SWEEPING AWAY ARGUMENTS

**T**HE MUNICIPAL water supply of Chicago has raised its rates finding it necessary to raise more revenues, that the enterprise may be self supporting. The world is indebted to the New York Times for the assertion that this "sweeps away one of the biggest and most telling arguments of municipal ownership advocates."

The arguments sweep away a certain amount of reputation for brains, which the author of the above statements may have had. The water supplies of the United States, at least so far as the larger plants are concerned, are all in municipal ownership. There are no great, privately owned water supplies in America.

From time to time municipal water supplies revise their rates, precisely as private owners do. Municipal ownership of water supply is so thoroughly established, that there is hardly any other way of doing it. A mere revision of prices does not constitute an argument either for or against municipal ownership. If it could be proved that municipal plants do not and of trade with Russia, thus preferring the British to the French against such ownership.

## TANKS IN THE NEXT WAR

**C**OL. GEORGE S. PATTON, Jr., of the Tank Corps, writing in The Infantry Journal, published by the United States Infantry Association, sees the battle drawn, and continues:

"What if at this moment either side loosed tanks—long, low swift, invulnerable tanks against whose armored hulls machine gun and rifle bullets chattered as harmlessly as hail on a brick-yard?"

What will stop them, he asks. Not the infantry accompanying gun. A small, moving target is hard to hit. Only other tanks will stop tanks. And the tank must be a part of the service, a something new added to the terrible orchestra, which generals will demand for the rendition of their compositions.

The war of the future will be more terrible than the war of the past. The tank is but one added terror. There will be terror of the air, and terror of the under and over seas and terror of poison gases descending upon sleeping cities, and terrors of other sort and kind. The best way and the safe way is to make the strongest possible effort to avoid the next war.

## TAKE YOUR CHOICE

**A** DESPATCH FROM Warsaw says that the Polish Army has surrounded a division of Russian cavalry, taking 800 prisoners. A Berlin despatch declares that the Polish offensive has collapsed. The Polish General Haller says that the retreat from Kiev was made for strategic reasons, and declares that the Polish arms are triumphant. There are all the facts, as usual, where Russian news is concerned, the reader may take his choice of a variety of conclusions. In the meantime the Belgium cabinet has declared in favor of a resumption of trade with Russia, thus preferring the British to the French policy.

## THE ENIGMATIC PLANK

**A** NEWSPAPER correspondent speaks to Mr. Root. He says to Mr. Root:

Is not the presence of a prominent Republican like yourself here as organizer of the League of Nations court of Justice rather at odds with the Republican anti-League plank?"

"Is the plank anti-League?" asked Mr. Root enigmatically. How is the American public flattered, that it should be offered a declaration on the leading issue before it, of which no man can say whether it is for, or against, or both for and against the important measure which it considers.

## LINING UP THE FOREIGN VOTE

**U**NDERLYING THE activities of the Republican party, the meaning behind their policy which differs in so many respects from American policy, lies a consciousness of what the census reports tell of the population of the United States. When the United States went into Europe, and fought a war in which the complex racial and national elements of the old world were intermingled in an antagonism of death, there was reflected in the minds of Americans, or of the guests of America, every phase of European thought.

The United States, having the policy from the beginning, of providing an asylum for the oppressed of Europe, numbers among its people sympathizers with every shade of European belief and separation.

It is the purpose of the Republican leaders to work upon

these shades of separation and sympathy in the hope of turning out the government in power.

The Census of 1910 indicated that about 48 per cent of American people have been here long enough so that their grandfathers were born in the United States. But there were 32,000,000 who were either born abroad, or were the children of persons born abroad. There were more than 6,000,000 foreign born persons above 21 years of age, and of these more than 3,000,000 had been naturalized and were citizens.

It is needless to say that the proportion of native to foreign born was larger than at any previous period, and is larger in 1920, for America began its career with a hundred per cent of white foreign born persons.

The percentage of voters among foreign born persons and their children is not as great, as for the other class. Some who have come in large numbers and are prolific have not come early enough to have many descendants old enough to vote.

But the interplay of sympathy among the more recent arrivals represents an enormous number of persons and a very great vote.

The largest single element in this vote is the element which has the most occasion to be dissatisfied with the course of the nation in the war. There are over eight millions of men and women of German antecedents, to many of whom it was a source of deep regret that the United States threw its weight into the scale against the fatherland.

The foreign born vote and the vote sympathetic with it, representing as it does every phase of the European struggle, will in so far as it votes by sympathy, be divided.

The tendency of German sympathizers and of those who regret the disintegration of the Austria-Hungarian monarchy will be pronouncedly against the government in power.

The groups that have occasion to be dissatisfied with the results of the war considerably outnumber those which tend to be satisfied.

In discussions of this type, the weakness is unavoidable of using terms too general. It is by no means to be assumed that every person attached to a foreign born group will vote according to foreign sympathies. Multitudes of such citizens will be moved only by American considerations. Within every European country are those who do not sympathize with the government of that country, as in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, there were groups, who have since been set up independently, and will be for the government in power, even if they should vote according to foreign and not according to American sympathies.

The situation is most interesting and presents a situation which will probably never again have a parallel. The condition in the past, nearest to this, existed when Europe was fighting the Napoleonic wars, when foreign sympathies operated very strongly upon domestic policies.

## THE ADVICE OF THE PRESIDENT

**W**OODROW WILSON, recovered from his long illness, calm, confident and enthusiastically hopeful, calls the Democratic party to a task of responsibility, and vast importance. The President is sure that the Democratic party "will say just what it means on every issue and that it will not resort either to ambiguity or evasion in doing so."

He is sure that the Democratic party will meet the challenge of the Chicago platform, and will follow his own advice, given at the Jackson Day dinner, to submit the Covenant of the League "to a great and solemn referendum."

The selection of an Ohio man as the Republican candidate caused the President to speak of the attitude of other sons of Ohio upon the League of Nations. William McKinley seized upon the league "as providing the greatest insurance ever discovered against war. Senator Theodore Burton, another Ohio Republican possessing rare powers of perception was an ardent champion of it.

The President has not, and will not interfere with the deliberate choice of the delegates to the Democratic convention. He has confidence that they will act wisely, that they will make a platform of unmistakable purport, and that they will make the issue of the League of Nations the dominant and controlling issue it actually is.

The more completely the Democratic party follows the advice of Woodrow Wilson the better will be its chance of victory.

## GEORGE W. PERKINS

**I**T HAS BEEN said that no aristocratic class, that is to say, no dominant or ruling class in a nation could be overthrown if all of its members retained the clear conviction that their privileges, emoluments and profits rightly and equitably were theirs. Some students have maintained that a privileged class does not break down until many members of it have become convinced of the weakness of its position, and the evil of its influence.

Few successful revolutions have taken place, in which there has not been some leadership drawn from the ranks of the class about to be overthrown.

From this statement of a theory may be deduced the best claim which George W. Perkins has to fame, and to a place in the continued recollection of his countrymen, now that he is dead.

Perkins, observing many years ago, the growing breach between employers and employed, became convinced that the employers enjoyed inequitable advantages, or perhaps, reached the utilitarian conclusion that the privileges of his associates would be longer preserved by granting to labor more participation in the profits of industry, and assuring to it more security for the future.

He became the champion of collective bargaining and of profit sharing. He sold stock in his corporations at less than its market value to the employees of those corporations. He favored old age pensions, and other means for providing against industrial disaster in the life of the workers.

He was a considerable force in the Progressive party, a greater force, perhaps, than Col. Roosevelt. He furnished, or found, much of the money which made the Progressive campaign possible. He provided some of the most essential planks in the platform, and he contributed to that splendid organization which took away much the larger half of the Republican party.

Dying prematurely, broken down by many labors, and an intense devotion to duty, George W. Perkins represents a type of man to whom society is deeply indebted.

Such men never reap the full reward of credit for what they accomplish. They are middle of the road men. They

act in the social structure much as springs act on an automobile. They absorb the shock of contending factions, and make easy and bloodless transitions which otherwise might be severe, and ensanguined.

## WINNING THE ELECTION

**T**HE PERSONALITY of candidates is usually a smaller factor in the result of a presidential election than the economic, or political or other factor is. The personality of the candidate will perhaps be less important in the present election than usual.

The party system prevails in America, and the masses of the voters are divided into groups. One group almost entirely votes the Republican ticket; the other group, the Democratic ticket, and the alignment being made, the vast number of voters always vote according to custom and habit.

This year there are more motives than usual important enough to jar habit voters out of their steady going ways. Of these habit jarring things, the most influential probably, is the issue growing out of the war, and the peace treaty.

The United States has millions of voters whose connection with countries of the old world is recent. Many voters are intensely interested in the countries from which they or their fathers came, and will vote according to their sympathies. Undoubtedly the Democrats will lose votes from those who are dissatisfied because the freedom of Ireland was not included in the peace treaty; or because the United States made war against Germany and the Austrian monarchy.

It is said, "Wilson promised to keep us out of war." The meaning of this significant phrase goes straight to the sympathies of multitudes who had hoped America would not throw into the scale against the Teutonic powers. The Fiume settlement loses other votes. Votes will come to the Democratic party from foreign groups that are satisfied, as the Poles, who gained a Republic, and the Czechs Slovaks, who also obtained political freedom. But in the main the issues growing out of foreign relations will fall against the party in power.

The economic issue is very grave, and powerful enough to tear voters from their well formed habits. An increase in the radical vote may be expected, unless the Democratic party is very progressive.

The Democratic party has certain advantages. It was the party in power when a victorious war was fought, and this has usually helped. The country is prosperous. Prices are high, but the masses have money to buy with. This has usually been more popular than a system of low prices and soup kitchens. That is to say the issue of the full dinner pail is on the side of the Democrats.

Women are about to vote, and some millions are sure to vote, and here the Democrats ought to have a preponderance, because of their opportunity to negotiate with the leadership of the movement as well as from their actual contributions to its success.

The farmer vote may furnish a larger quota than usual, because the administration of Mr. Wilson has cultivated the farmer. He has farm loan banks. Money has been sent in to move his crops, whereas formerly the same money went into Wall street to relieve the industrial situation and the speculators. The Democracy have also the advantage which usually inheres in the party in power, a strong machine composed of government employees and beneficiaries of the government. This organization is stronger than ever before by the inclusion of the forces which deals with the enforcement of the liquor.

In estimating possibilities it is always wise to take account of the control of the machinery of government. In Bridgeport we understand very well what an important factor this is.

The Republicans have one grave element of weakness. They recently split into two parties. Four years ago, or a little less, the groups reunited, but the Roosevelt, or progressive wing was beaten in the convention four years ago, and again in the Chicago convention. A party split is hard to heal, and the Republican split seems to be wider than it was.

One other factor seems to count upon the Democratic side. The Democratic party has not within forty years been able to command the financial support which the Republican party has enjoyed, and has, for this purely economic reason, been less committed to corrupt political methods. Mr. Wilson's administration, during eight years has discouraged the use of money. Stricter laws have been adopted. Existing laws have been enforced. Many offenders have been sent to jail and some are under sentence who have not gone. The most conspicuous example is Senator Newberry of Michigan, who has appealed from a sentence of imprisonment. There will be less money contributed to beat the Democratic party than before, and less will be corruptly expended.

The outlook for the Democratic party is rosier than it would have seemed to most observers, a few months ago.

## DR. BUTLER AND GENERAL WOOD

**G**ENERAL WOOD is described as "furious" at the charges made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, against the men who backed the general for the Republican nomination.

Butler said that "a motley group of stock gamblers and others tried to buy the presidential nomination" for Wood. He replies that Butler is a malicious liar and a fakir and, other language to the same effect.

It is almost as if Col. Roosevelt had got himself embodied in Dr. Butler's mind, from which he is addressing his countrymen just as he used to before his death. But having to work through another mind, if it is Roosevelt attempting to speak, cripples the force of the accusations, which are not as extensive or as vivid as when the colonel used to tell directly what he thought about the Republican party and its campaign methods.

The people are concerned in the indisputed fact that somebody furnished large sums of money with which to get a nomination for General Wood. Governor Lowden put up half a million of his own to get a nomination. Hiram had perhaps \$200,000 for his campaign. And for many ballots the order of voting was, biggest campaign fund first; next biggest, second, smallest campaign fund, last.

"But if General Wood had employed a smaller fund, would he have been beaten?" This is the method of inquiry that seldom gets anywhere. The best guess would be, no campaign fund, no votes. It was three funds, competing against each other that made the deadlock, and let the senatorial junta, headed by Senator Penrose, put over the nomination of Harding.

It would be a good, but useless guess, because the mill never grinds with the water that has gone over the wheel, to suppose that Wood might have been nominated, if there had been but one campaign fund. Plainly he could have been nominated if the three funds had pooled upon him. For a long time the votes that were obtained, if not by the use of, yet for candidates with large cash resources, were in control of the convention. Money was divided and didn't win.

## COSTLY SERVICE CLUB MEMORIAL TO OFFICER DEAD

As a permanent memorial to the more than 3,000 American officers who died in the world war, the Army and Navy Club of America, of 13 Gramercy Park, will establish in New York City, a \$2,000,000 service club-house, where, among other memorial features, the military record of every officer will be preserved for future generations.

In making the announcement yesterday, Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N., retired, President of the Club, said that it is proposed not only to make the new building a memorial of national significance, on the order of Grant's Tomb on the Hudson, but also to establish a great center for general patriotic activities, with meeting rooms for patriotic organizations and an auditorium for large public assemblies.

With 2,500 members already in the club and approximately 195,000 others, in all branches of the service, to draw from, the club in time should become, even without civilian memberships, by far, the largest in the world, Admiral Fiske said.

It is the intention of the club, however, he said, to make the memorial feature predominant.

The record of all officers, with personal data and souvenirs contributed by their families, will be preserved in the new building in a special memorial court, or hall, which will be built from plans drawn in competition by leading architects of the country. The memorial, in this respect, would be unique, nothing like it ever before having been attempted.

As a preliminary step in the movement, the Army and Navy Club of America has just published the official list of each state for a list of those who died. The club already has collected the names of approximately 3,000 officers, but it is planned, by appealing to the adjutant generals, to the Red Cross, and other organizations, to make the final list the most complete and authentic in the country.

Correspondence with next-of-kin of officers whose names are already in hand, has brought in biographic data, with photographs, letters and other personal material, on the careers of 1,200 officers. The work of collating this material is now under way.

No complete list of officers who died in service in the war yet exists anywhere in available form, as the adjutant general's office in Washington has decided to give each state its separate list, rather than attempt to supply complete lists from Washington. A special appropriation from Congress has been secured to make the lists available for states.

"It is planned to make the new building not only a monument to the heroic dead, but a home for the living where the best traditions of the service will be maintained," Admiral Fiske said.

"Officers in all branches of the service, coming to New York, can find at this club accommodations at prices commensurate with their incomes. Our present quarters are entirely inadequate, and something must be done to provide for the hundreds of officers who are passing through New York all the time, and for many of whom satisfactory hotel accommodations are a serious problem."

"Dues and house charges, accordingly, will be exceedingly moderate. There will be a large number of bedrooms, but in addition, the plans include a dormitory furnished with cots where army officers may always be sure of a place to sleep. The new building will also have besides the meeting rooms for patriotic societies, a special dining room with private entrance for ladies, and other attractions, appealing to patriotic men and women."

"It is hoped that the building will become a center of activities for the histories of the officers of the United States Army and Navy may be kept and where coming generations may find inspiration. This will serve also in keeping before the public the importance of officer service."

"Citizens will be eligible to associate membership, it being the desire to establish a place where officers and men of affairs can get closer together to their mutual advantage."

"We want the new club, in fact, to be a national institution for the preservation of American ideals and the propagation of American principles."

"The memorial will be built on a basis of \$1,000 for each officer who made the supreme sacrifice. Memorial contributions may come in from families, groups of friends, lodges, business associations, or other organizations with which the deceased was identified, or may be contributed in part by these and supplemented by appropriations from a fund contributed by patriotic citizens generally. In every instance, however, the contributor will have the choice of memorializing an individual officer or the whole body of officers who gave their lives."

"A group of army officers have already pledged themselves for a contribution of \$250,000 to the memorial fund."

Expenses for the preliminary work, which is in charge of Captain Stephen N. Bobo, have been provided in advance by a group of prominent New York men and every dollar donated for memorial purposes will apply directly to the building fund, Admiral Fiske said. Among the men who have contributed are: Col. Morgan, Henry P. Davidson, Col. John W. Prentiss, formerly treasurer of the Harvard Club; General Samuel McRoberts, and General Guy E. Triff, head of the Westinghouse Company; Colonel Howard S. Borden, R. D. Blackman and Charles H. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Company. Mr. Sabin is treasurer of the club fund. Besides Admiral Fiske, the officers are: Brig. General William J. Nicholson, U. S. A., retired, First Vice-President; Major General Edward C. Young, Second Vice President; Captain William B. Franklin, Treasurer and Captain Theodore S. Farley, Secretary.

The movement has already received the endorsement of practically all the patriotic societies and organizations. Mrs. Adolph Ladenburg, who has been actively interested in patriotic service since the outbreak of the war for many years, has enlisted the interest of a number of prominent women.